

[P. 33a]

755 feathers (so'nai or wača'm) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa'pail) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (aṇutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

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[428] A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

• [754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.⁶⁴ When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya.

⁶⁴See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[P.336]

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In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

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Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and *ṭ:ṭni* people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house. The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.⁶

Shaman's Cache

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As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called *tai'wan* (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemmoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A. of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A *taiwan* is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called *he'u te'ets ka'li* (walks light for lightning). This lightning sings:

hia 'm (i) na tipi 'newe oiyō 'lomo-
now I *ṭ:ṭni* move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[P. 34 a]

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He
said a big sickness (tau'mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.²⁶

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and
her daughter Leah were out gathering wild
onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's
skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a
little hand, then a leg; and then a foot
farther over toward the northwest. They were
terrified and ran away at once. About a week
later they heard that Halopča and his father,
Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was
of a wealthy family and had lots of money
buried with her. As these men lived up at Dun-
lap it was thought that they had come down via
Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the
remains on the Pohot's property to obviate sus-
picion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to
do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:

The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de'ital. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai'iamit) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: tomo'luna. This was due to a
long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto'kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai'y:n ho'pai) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
[954] attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

²⁶ Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals.
However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead
people is mentioned from other tribes.

[P. 346]

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Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When I. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, Mo' hono, was paid \$5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753]

Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for \$20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" (a possible case of rape?). Mohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W. At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was used by the padres and smells good, when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" she comes to life. Recently the child fell into a pond, but recovered herself. (Epilepsy)

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J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko't:ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.⁶⁷ J.A. has seen her cure.

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A black scorpion bit Tsomoi'yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot:ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to the dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna'ha la na we-ta'
pine tree on I wainus⁶⁸

hiye'wuka na
where-I-am I

we-ta' puku'lu na
wainus wainus (Tachi form) I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

⁶⁷This is the woman known as Poi'in or Bo'iyon to other informants.

⁶⁸Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

[P. 47c] Paluyam.

Tubatulabal NS22

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756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

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[752] Rattlesnake (te'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solo pono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y
[145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y
756 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y
[828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

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Y
756 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati'sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu'ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.¹¹³

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781 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She
791 related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

¹¹³See F.N.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 67 b]

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

302 Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

[826] Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

826 Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju 'ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ōa and (presumably with the help of the man's opponent) succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju 'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

292 Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[Text continues on p. 69]

[P. 70a]

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.¹⁶⁷

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

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[776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha Rhaa, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

[754] Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

¹⁶⁷ Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-1, 46, m-o.

[P. 95b]

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The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.²²⁷ For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

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The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

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A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

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Subchief.---The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye'i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye'i, whether or not there was an inviolable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.²²⁸ If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

²²⁷Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

²²⁸This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 30 years would seem more probable.

[P. 109 b] Wukchumni:

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would
sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

[754] "What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek
778 power by this means, and the dream was its only
787 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ni].

[776] The dream helper was called ai'n:č (from ana'natswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 Supernatural power (t:pní) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ai'n:č was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wukchunwi

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was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An owner of one would fear its discovery by a malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

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Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s examples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoī) who lived in the deer cave²⁵¹ would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

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The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a lineage association.

Eagle.---Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.²⁵² In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.---A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.---A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody (lest he kill him). Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

²⁵¹See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobanuch account, Pt. II.

²⁵²That is, it could not make one a chief.

[P. 111a] Wukichuma

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa'tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho'ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress
535 regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
292 weasel-skin wristlets,²³³ down-strand skirt,
237 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear
plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
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²³³These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

[P. 111 b] Wukchumi

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[522] Coyote man" (i.e., of Coyote lineage) who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičāča were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičāča had dreamed of Falcon (l.m.k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičāča dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

[237] He had an eagle head similarly prepared with which he cured J.P.'s back.

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845 He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

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823] Haičāča did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain.č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

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789 Contagious magic---While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumi took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumi, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combs, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

[P. 112a] Wukchumni

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.²³⁵

Airshot.---Shamans of any standing were be-
lieved capable of sending intrusive objects
into other persons. Such objects were called
by the word for arrowhead, tu'yoñ, in English,
"airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the
invisible shot which shamans used in the
Shamans' Contest, but the English and native
words are used loosely for all intrusive ob-
jects. These objects might be grains of sand,
a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's
own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some
kinds of shot knocked you down while others
hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could
make (i.e., propel) different kinds" (S.G.).

656 All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'wan,
285] Wukchumni, bo'gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer,
as the basis or foundation from which the shot
was propelled. The shot was set off either
by blowing across the tray or slapping it face
downward on the ground.

821] The invisible airshot was derived from the
756 sun. It was made from nothing (i'a'mēi, lit.,
754 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds,
pebbles.²³⁶ This all disappeared when the sha-
mans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

825 According to J.P., this same airshot could
756 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
789 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
754 would change into an owl that went and talked
to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While
owls and coyotes are the customary servants of
shamans, other informants indicated that these
were living animals, not magically created ones,
which were under shamans' commands.

756 **Transformation.**---The Wukchumni believed
789 that persons with supernatural power, not
778 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
under conditions of great stress into the form
of their animal dream helper. (See Holonāi's
experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

613] Bear transformation was believed possible
for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they
had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient t.pni to
accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It
was not a common practice and I could secure no
stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at
least one informant denied it in toto.

789 **Flying power.**---The power of flying through
756 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed
person suddenly found himself a safe distance
away from his threatened danger. The power

²³⁵vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Tokito-Mono Chiefs
and Shamans, 403.

²³⁶Whatever simile informants used in attempting to de-
scribe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

[P. 1126]

Wukchumni

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was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela'mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičāča, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičāča had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

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Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.²⁵⁷

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When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'aua) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

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Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki'paṭ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi 'li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

²⁵⁷Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

[P. 114 a] Wukchurwi

756 7. J.B. accused Čokonik, a Choinimni
 754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.²⁶¹
 "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of
 money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick
 and then cured him." Čokonik used the sucking
 method; he exhibited a fingernail as the in-
 trusive cause. During the treatment he talked
 to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and
 telling Owl what he was going to do. He also
 rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He
 was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grand-
 mother after her own mother died. Both women
 mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became
 very ill from prolonged crying and fasting.
 She developed a chronic headache and could not
 see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
 [304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her be-
 tween the eyebrows,²⁶² at the back of the neck,
 and on the left breast. He sucked and ex-
 tracted a lot of her own mother's hair from
 these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an
 eagle feather and then burned the whole thing.
 He explained that her mother had been trying to
 take her [to the afterworld], that the grand-
 mother's continuous crying for her dead daugh-
 ter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was
 "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occa-
 sion. The shaman who treated her (Haičaca) had
 an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He
 wet these in a small basket of water from Guts-
 numi, which he kept calling on for help. He
 pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on
 it twice. Then he shook her head gently but
 rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between
 her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood"
 which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičaca
 were recounted by his niece, M.P.
 Haičaca (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s
 maternal uncles. He became a shaman although
 his father was not one: Bear was their family
 totem. When he was young he did not eat any
 meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away
 from the village, hunting. What game he
 brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked.
 The lad became hungry and asked for some meat,
 but his grandfather told him "not to look at
 meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to
 bed." Haičaca did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the
 boy and his four brothers with a long pole,
 telling them to get up and go swimming as it
 was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go
 in the middle of the night.²⁶³ "The boys got
 awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičaca dreamed an
 enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
 787 "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be
 your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you
 when you need me." The next morning the boy
 told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to
 swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When
 he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

²⁶¹Y.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonik of mal-
 practice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

²⁶²The scars are visible, as they are on other informants
 who have been subjected to this method of curing.

²⁶³Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous
 night bathing but only one became a shaman.

[P. 114b] WuKchunwi

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
 787 the ensuing night and then came home and slept
 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
 swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
 breakfast. Haičāča continued this routine
 until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
 way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi),
 [978] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
 in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
 wing which, as a talisman (ain:č), he kept
 close to his person. About a month later a
 shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
 Haičāča in a gambling game. This doctor could
 hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain:č) singing
 under Haičāča's clothes: "It kept singing
 [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talis-
 man. Haičāča denied that he possessed one,
 "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
 make him sick and kill him if he did not give
 it up. So Haičāča gave up the crow wing and he
 cried for an entire week over the loss.

756 At about this time Haičāča's mother's
 787 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
 754 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
 it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was work-
 ing, and after crossing the river he coughed
 up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
 first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
 he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
 on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
 he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
 man had lain down by the water and the frog
 jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
 object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
 in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
 frogs came up around his feet and sang.
 Haičāča felt better at once and, rising, went
 right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
 his approach and did not return until Haičāča
 left.

Subsequently Haičāča went down to Tulare
 to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
 hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
 shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
 his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
 however, and a little later a woman "burned it
 up for him." Instead of being cured, the
 shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
 finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
 "He nearly died." How he was cured of this
 ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catho-
 lic priest's prayer."

756 Haičāča became a good doctor; "he never
 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
 a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
 lots of women doctors south of Kern River."
 [237] Haičāča once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
 of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-
 head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
 sucked out blood in the shape of two little
 frogs."

546 11. The only case known to my informants
 613 of a water creature serving as a family totem
 825 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
 eat fish "because their father was sick for a
 long time from fish." 264

²⁶⁴On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both
 illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of in-
 version due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

[P. 119 a] Wukchumni

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
 276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
 [787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the
 individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the
 quantity was about one to two cupfuls; some-
 times a second dose had to be given if the
 initial amount was not effective. The drinkers,
 wrapped in blankets, remained near the central
 fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the
 narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As
 each one became unconscious, he was carried
 into a shelter where his women attendants took
 charge. One held his head in her lap, the
 other his feet, and both gently rocked the
 child and sang as he slept. The mother and
 father stood by watching; they could not be
 present if they had eaten meat. The chief func-
 tion of the attendants was to guard against
 flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up
 in fright and rush out never to be seen again"
 (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the
 ritual were held to blame for carelessness.
 Such flights usually occurred in the morning
 following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in
 during the first twelve to eighteen hours.
 Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
 as they stirred and became active. About the
 time they were expected to awake several women
 796 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
 276 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could
 533 give no reason other than that she often sang,
 danced, etc., in public performances. The
 songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you
 should wake up," or "Get up and drink more
 tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never adminis-
 tered then). One such song was:

upu'tumi uka'naka taña'ya lu'lhe' lula'lhe'
 Arise. Drink tañai. Walk! Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
 276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
 person would come, give the drinker a feather
 755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said,
 usually appeared as swarms of insects to the
 intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these
 microcosms were brushed into a fire they made
 a popping noise audible only to the drinker.
 The person was invariably cured: "even cancer
 was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
 276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
 787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying
 to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first hus-
 band took tañai and saw "the railroad before it
 came; he saw something moving around without
 any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he
 ran around wild."

• [757] If occult disclosures concerning the evil
 behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker,
 he confided this to his parents (provided they
 had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What
 was done with such information was not stated.

CP. 1196] Wukchumni;

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It was said that an evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would try to render the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

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On the twelfth day after the ritual a general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

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This little feast provided an occasion for betrothal if any families cared to take advantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

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Jimsonweed was well known as an anaesthetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anāi's experience, p.72).

[752]

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

[P. 129 b] Wukchumni

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed
off the granular airshot from the feathers. The
shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans
were paid by the spectators who had thrown
down their strings of bead money on a tray pro-
vided by a winatum, while the contestants lay
unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid
their singers and, if they had them, their own
personal winatums. They also paid a good share
to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each
769 other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
789 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic
ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
"he died in about three days," or at best would
linger on for a month. This might be done then
deliberately, or the victim might be left total-
ly unconscious with the claim that he could not
be brought to.²⁶¹

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonoč:m who
handled corpses, supervised their burial, and
sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of
their own; it was the finale of the daily
ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described
this performance as he had witnessed it at
Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m,
Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,²⁶² some of
them men, some women [that any of them were
berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers
(hide't:š) using cocoon rattles sat in the as-
sembly space and sang while the tonoč:m ap-
proached in single file, the men leading. The
men carried long poles in their right hands
and had their faces painted black, whereas the
women held both fists up before their shoulders,
carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore
wigs of long false human hair which trailed on
the ground. The wig had no beak;²⁶³ it was tied
on with a band which passed around the forehead
and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They
danced past the visitors and lined up, while
the active mourners lined up facing them with
the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m
danced and sang, along with the singer accompa-
nists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were
usually payment in kind rather than money, at

²⁶¹The full implications of this malpractice have been
discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

²⁶²The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and prob-
ably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of associa-
tion with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi,
if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

²⁶³As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

[P. 150 9] Choinimni

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo'gen)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a
denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was
scattered at sacred moments at certain springs,
probably when prayers were being made.²³

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If
the patient did not improve, the practitioner
danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal),
and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send
something into one; this might be an insect,
or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi'yes)
which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču'nač. The spirit of some dead man would
catch a victim after dark and insert a long
775 hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor
cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with
long audible inhalations and rapid brief ex-
halations. The hair he extracted might be "as
long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one
crazy (ale'ta), an ailment which doctors could
not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once
at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta'wats, dead person ?) was dif-
ferentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was
"afraid of that and didn't want to talk about
it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After
that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors
got mad when they got home. They danced all
one night and made poison. People got sick
all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was re-
lated by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself
cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor,
Səmti'wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from
an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be
cut approximately over the uterus. She went
home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and
sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" (i.e.,
no intrusive object), and the woman has con-
tinued to grow worse. Some people, for this
reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith
in his power. J.A. implied, however, that
P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmti'wəs (Bob
of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could
not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of head-
aches he sucked out a "little white pointed
thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own
daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attrib-
uted to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries
shortly after giving birth to an infant.

[P. 157 a] DUMNA

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
 754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the
 people would get mad and kill him" [the state-
 ment itself indicates that there were evil
 doctors and that they were killed]. A bad
 doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad
 he sent this at you." Such projection of
 poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit
 one and the following year it would be seared
 and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless
 he was sure of curing his patient. If he was
 unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee.
 [Naturally there must have been much difficulty
 in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
 758 outside. If such a performance were scheduled,
 and it rained, the shaman took one or two
 singers and went into a dwelling house (sam:s),
 not into the sweat house (mos). As many spec-
 tators as could crowded in to watch him. This
 dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W.
 could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance
 called mi'yn wa'tiye to'se ("the to-tell
 dance") performed by several doctors. Some-
 times as many as five doctors participated at
 once. People assembled at a big fire in the
 early evening. The doctors were there with
 their singers and winatums. Persons already
 ill were brought in and disposed near the fire.
 The doctors danced while the singers sang.
 Then they told who was going to be sick. They
 had a big basket of water [each had?] in which
 they dipped their hand feathers (wača'm), and
 brushed off the patients and the "patients-
 elect." "They blew the sickness away before it
 came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe'let a'mam
 hača'ka'č" ("doctoring-process him [does]
 good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especi-
 ally about sickness that was far away. If we
 had those doctors now they could stop this flu
 [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choiniani,
 P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W.
 While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of
 him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo'wi ki'ka
 ha'na-na-
 ʔe'pi ni'hi ti (ʔ:ɸni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant
 he was asking ʔ:ɸni to help him.) P.D.W. sang
 this over continuously before and while he was
 cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
 nothing without singing to his ʔ:ɸni." The in-
 [77] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the
 [837] "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit
 consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers,
 and a weasel (?) head ornamented with beads.
 The day following this treatment B.W. "got up
 and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures---The term for sickness in general was *toi yoti-yaš he 'ba* (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, *Sai 'hu*, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman *Cokon:k* sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, *sane 'naš*, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, *Wewu 'ki* (Old Dick) was sent for. He was *Tokelyuwich*, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was *t:pní* by dead people." Both his parents were *Tokelyuwich*.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, *Hai 'ai 'ič*, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

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273 Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

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When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

[177]

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A group of people came from Bishop Creek and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

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They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.¹⁴² The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo (or at Ahwahnee?), another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

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Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439]

¹⁴²Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

[P. 204 a] Chukchansi

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Priant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her
755 father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" (hence the sickness). Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali \$5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

[P. 204 b] Chuck Chans,

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755 tail at the sun, at the same time laying another animal (skin ?) on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him \$6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted \$2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant (or was pregnant ?). However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun (informant could not say in what manner) and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About [47] a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

[P. 205 a] Chukchansi

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota \$20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this (publicly?). He was paid about \$20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbit-skin blankets: he took away the stick.¹⁴³

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case. "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

[P. 211] According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

¹⁴³The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

[P. 209 a] Chukchansi

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he dis-
liked: "People knew it was his bear." The
woman was out gathering acorns when the bear
came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes
and all the separate parts of her body -- head,
legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita
bush. Her heart was still beating when they
found it.

[52] There is another man, alive today, who
controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall
asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
about his bear, N.W. replied that it was un-
likely, "that he might set it after you," and
indulged in good-natured laughter.¹⁵¹

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe
as they are powerful and are thought to possess
human intelligence. They would get hold of a
person's weapons and break them up. They cry
"just like people when they are hungry." They
hear and understand everything people say.
There was a man named Kaitana who said deroga-
tory things about bears: soon one came and
tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, how-
ever, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power,
like shamans, who could converse with bears,
said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human:
"He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk
but he understands you just like a man."

[53] Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They
walk on their hind feet, usually near a small
tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it:
"They are just doing their way." Some Indians
down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayl?) used to
dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears
dancing." [The implication is that the Chuk-
chansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through
the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting
789 little stones into them; also that a female
shaman transformed into a bear at the time of
her burial.¹⁵²

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was pos-
sessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those
of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said
J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub
Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who
lived near by if he would demonstrate his pow-
ers. Many spectators came, especially from
Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. A
789 enormous fire was built, around which the
audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes
off" (presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

¹⁵¹ This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

¹⁵² Handbook, 516, 517.

[P. 210 a] Chukchaws.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
684 came to a celebration at Picayune. He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other
doctors thought of the evil things that man had
done, so they decided to kill him. He got a
pain in his side, went home, and died. The
people were afraid to bury him. They dug an
extra deep grave at his own house, not in the
regular burying-place. Such powerful whirl-
winds arose they could scarcely handle him. It
rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the
body in the grave, they put large stones on top,
but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just
like blasting." Finally they got the hole
filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing
683 themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
treatment from a certain shaman, could legiti-
mately seek to kill the man. This might be
done by a member of the family or, in some
cases, a man was hired to do it. Public
opinion upheld the family when their suffering
was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all
started dying, he would think maybe it was a
certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R.
He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a
brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them
that he had lost all his family and that he
suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them.
The doctor might live in some other community.
The chief would have with him some money, per-
haps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen
to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am
going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you
boys, I want you to go over to his place to-
night. I will send a man over there to get the
doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock,
the chief would send a man over to the shaman's
house who, on some pretext, would get the sha-
man to come out to a prearranged spot. Without
losing sight of him, the messenger went off a
bit to find the killers who were to meet him.
He said to them, "He is right there now. Are
you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the
hired men approached the shaman. These
avengers had their bows, already charged with
arrows, in their hands. When they were very
close to their victim -- about four feet --
they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian
doctor was done for." Then the men departed,
leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives
came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by
the shaman's family was not alluded to by any
informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the
man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they
would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi,
and were evidently more common than among other

[P. 210 b] Chukchansi

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted the following anecdote of the punishment of a witch.

683

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest between shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

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J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowa (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ("That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.)

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" (were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.). The father had blue-jay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father (method or motions not described). He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

[P. 241 q] WESTERN MOND NS25

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continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

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Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,¹²¹ although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

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The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

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The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

¹²¹Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

CP. 244 b] Wobonuch, Mono NS29

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The Yekod had some grudge against a Wuk-chumni doctor, Ka'zua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob') stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Ušibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

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753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

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[755] Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. (Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.) Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

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754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.¹²⁸

Rain-making

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789 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su'm:k and Taku'mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

¹²⁸Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, [177] encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska.

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [757]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Blood-letting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

[757] The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

[276] The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little
 • 754 thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37; a.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, f.)

[533] A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died.

756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed
 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

[771]

The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Teh-nih'-pahs*, taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the *Cuhmumwum Weah* to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The Chunut called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he*.

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win*, the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a *Wowol*.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lahnah*, the West Side.

Once *Tumnah* told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some Tachi people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

159 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The
754 Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were follow-
754 ing him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah.
627 Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and
go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows. sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "Een-sis (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to *Tulamni*, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at *Tulamni*. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian
758 Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they
[754] talked about it for a long time.

756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman; especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.²²

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion
755 into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

²² See anecdotes, p. 394.

People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.⁵³ A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.⁵⁴

⁵³ Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

⁵⁴ The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonuch (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kiteeyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laoteu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laoteu'i sent him to see Hamate (Lockett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kiteeyu at the time with a daughter of Haipuc (Sameon Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kiteeyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ko'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

[683] Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipuc and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.²² Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonso:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitatu. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

²² See genealogy, *Western Mono*: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kiteeyu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set those dolls up in there."

The winatum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'asot'ho'l, dead person skinned), a hill above Kiteeyu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Teitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kiteeyu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Teitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.¹⁰ Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kiteeyu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kiteeyu. His wife was a Waksachi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped.

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Teeyi married a man named Koikoi'ite. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Teeyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kiteeyu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

¹⁰ This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Kolko a prisoner. Haloptea went home and buried his father. Kolko was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her \$1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Teitein was Jim Britches' stepfather. Teitein was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Teitein, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Teitein disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent \$10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Teitein went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Puclilin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Puclilin to come treat her son. When he arrived Puclilin asked Teitein why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Teitein demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

755 Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and between the eyes. Puclilin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Puclilin knew all the time that it was Teitein who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Teitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eebom valley about a mile above Teitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

1930]

Gayton: Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans

395

did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakmachi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Teitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Teitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat.

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was standing off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tale house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable.

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Kosewa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutanuta (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

754 clicking sound like someone flipping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. [755] They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him \$20 for his services.

[756] Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. [755] Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets aftu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motma's friend.⁵⁷ Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wopis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

⁵⁷ See anecdote, p. 405.

given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this faadango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over.

Pokoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him.

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore rancheria. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Hüntinín ("southerner") named Teehém-suk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Teehém-suk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Teehém-suk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly.

One of his songs was:

watinihe
where

tsatsana
chicken hawk down

añawuhun
belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Teehém-suk was making him ill. He tried to kill Teehém-suk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Teehém-suk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his tipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel,

756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhua, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

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CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfillment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between
756 the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
572 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been
more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services;
a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and
would give him a trust fee. "He gets about \$100 if he is a big doctor; \$50 if
not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the
doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the
man's death after accepting \$25 or \$30. The doctor again interviews his patron
and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date,
usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is
bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake
dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this
man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If
the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers
and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing,
or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small
sum to help them find the culprit.

683 When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their
chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers
aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old
Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant⁶⁰ gives a briefer version of a similar
condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to
give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody
who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a
gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man.
If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of
sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief
and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would
finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick
man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief
would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the
guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief
would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of
making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the
doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.⁶¹ In this region the moiety organization

⁶⁰ Sam Gerdfield.

⁶¹ Gifford, field notes, 1913.

648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence,
ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us
an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one
informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was
that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should
have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may
have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last
chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding
with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to
give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central Californian region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

278 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the
754 leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison
was called mets astawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was
usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock
poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?),"
[823] was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and
ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that
would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but
"hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person
to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was
a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to
kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district
than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more
at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region.
[177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said
to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused
of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.⁶² Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but
the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote
was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood
from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves.
She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

⁶² See anecdotes, p. 397.

1930]

Gayton: Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans

403

Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754
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Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754
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He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. 756

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622
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● Mota is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Mota when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Josquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Mota was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Mota came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Mota ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

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B76 Mota settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Mota had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Mota wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

minimon	kiolin	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	!	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Mota's house. He spoke to Mota.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Mota might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Mota would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Mota belonged to the Tokeluwis moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Mota was about.

Motaa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutu-⁶²²
nutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.⁷⁵⁴ Many of Motaa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonso: ^[572]

1. Motaa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motaa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyitsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motaa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonso was sitting across the table from her. Motaa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law!" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motaa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motaa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch?). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motaa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motaa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutawic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motaa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motaa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motaa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motaa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motaa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motaa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motaa was that of Josie's brother, Wepia. Josie and Wepia were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

⁶²² See anecdote, p. 396.

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754 The door opened and in came Motaa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather head-dress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motaa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motaa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motaa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motaa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motaa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motaa to go over there with him to see it. Motaa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motaa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him to'ti (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motaa as to'ti tiya (bad chief) or tihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motaa had a daughter named Gutai'l. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motaa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motaa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motaa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622 The informant was indefinite as to Motaa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore rancheria. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motaa was one of the

1930]

Gayton: Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans

409

the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
 756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural.
 181 Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
 754 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But
 the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with
 on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men
 who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal
 aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
 [756] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as de-
 626] stroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery
 and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
 622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
 756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a
 fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the
 same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his
 shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was
 unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of
 view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man
 of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
 [577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-
 citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who
 failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and
 hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence
 of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially
 those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest
 he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness
 or death be visited upon him.

182 The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
 622 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by in-
 heritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as
 was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief,
 as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these
 were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning
 ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even
 other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons
 concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of